CONTINUED FROM FIRST PAGE. ress and reform? There is, however, Mr. hairman, one exception in this respect among The distinguished Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Webster] has undertaken to show that both the measures and conduct of a certain class, (meaning, I suppose, the Anti-Slavery and Free-Soil men,) are highly prejudicial to the interests of the slave and the cause of liberty throughout the Union. One of the principal charges which he prefers against us is, that we make too broad a distinstion between right and wrong. Another is, that we are impatient mentoo impatient, always, to give heed to the admonition of St. Paul, "that we are not to do evil that good may come"—too impatient to wait for the slow progress of moral causes in the improve-ment of mankind. In his bill of indictment he has one other complaint: It is said we deal with morals as with mathematics, and that we think what is right may be distinguished from what is wrong with the precision of an algebraic equa-tion. Well, Mr. Chairman, we do think the questions of morals, when applied to freedom and slavery, are more clear than any question in algebra. The former requires the slow process of reason, the latter are self-evident—springing instantane-ously from our moral consciousness. Wonderful charge! The Free Soil men may feel proud of such allegations, coming from their most distin-guished political opponents in this great controversy. But the time has been when the cause of civil liberty was better understood, even by the complainant himself. Let me read an extract from his eloquent speech, delivered in Faneuil Hall, August 2, 1826, in commemoration of the lives and services of John Adams and Thomas

said: "True elequence does not consist in speech. The graces taught in the schools, the costly ornaments and studied contrivances of speech, shock and disgust men, when their own lives and the fate of their wives, their children, and their country, hang on the decision of the hour. Then words have lost their power, rhetoric is vain, and elaborate oratory contemptible. Even genius itself then feels rebaked and subdued as in the presence of higher qualities. Then patriotism is eloquent—
then self-devotion is eloquent—the clear canception
outrunning the deductions of logic—the high purpose,
the firm resolve, the dauntless spirit speaking on
the tongue, beaming from the eye, informing every feature, and urging the whole man onward, right on-ward, to his object. This is eloquence; or, rather, it is something greater and higher than all eloq it is action—noble, sublime, godlike action.

These, Mr. Chairman, were the Free Soil prin ciples of John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, and their mpatriots of 1776; they are the Free Soil principles of 1850; they are not merely a theory without action; they unite both with fraternal affection-the highest principle of our nature; they dwell on all the face of the earth. But, alas! with

ome of our public men how things have changed! In 1826, the cause of liberty was clearer than deducible from reason. No wonder we have heard the exclamations—" Where am 1?" and "Where

Sir, I have said this much in our own defence against the charges of the Massachusetts Senator. will now dismiss the subject by asking him a question, if he will condescend to answer it. After we have paid two hundred millions of dollars to expatriate the free blacks of our country, abandoned the Wilmot Proviso, and created four new slave States from Texas, and expended all our energies in catching runaway slaves, how much moral force will be left to remove the evils of slavery and other public crimes that afflict our coun-This, I presume, can be solved with mathenatical precision, if the more abstruce question cannot, viz: the right a man has to himself. When this is satisfactorily answered, we shall have more

Mr. Chairman, there are some other political creeds and rules brought forward here, encern-ing which I would like to say a word. I allude to the doctrines promulgated by the gentleman from New York, [Mr. Dukk] and the gentleman from Pennsylvania, [Mr. Ross] The gentleman from New York lays down a principle, in a speech that he recently delivered in this hall, that completely annihilates individuality by consigning the conscience to the control of a majority in all questions of right and wrong connected with the political under the extradition clause of our Constitution,

pernicious than the open advocacy of absolute despotism. It amounts to this: You may commit any crime, even murder itself, if you only have the majority's sanction to protect you in it, under the forms of law! Sir, I wish to enter my most solemn protest against this idea of committing our consciences to the care of others. It is at variance with religion and common sense. Christianity inculcates our submission to wrongs inflicted, but gentleman's philosphy reminds me of an annecdote that was told of a slave who was seen walking in the rain with his hat under his arm. Being accosted by some one who inquired why he did not wear his hat on his head, he replied that his hat was his own, but that his head was his master's. So it is with this class of political philosophers. Their consciences—their very souls—belong to their consciences—their very souls—belong to their party, if their party be in power; otherwise to the party of their political opponents who hap-pen to be in the ascendency! Under this rule, our own Washingtons, and Jacksons, and Jeffersons; the Mitchells and O'Briens of down-trodden Ireland; the Kossuths and Ujhazys of Hungary; would be stamped as counterfeits-for they only consciences! Sir, these are not the enlightened sentiments of Christianity. They belong to the religion of the Brahmins. Let me here read short extract from their creed; "Whoever desires to be happy, must constantly endeavor to conquer himself and become like the original essence. To accomplish this, he must accustom himself not to act, think, feel, or desire." Their "Endeavor to annihilate thyself; for as one with God, and returnest into his being." With politicians, whose allegiance is stronger to party than to correct principle, it should read thus: "Thou becomest one with thy party, and returnest into

or shall we continue men? sentiment of the gentleman from New York, [Mr. Duss.] because, in this age of degeneracy, it is a prevailing error that we have a licence to violate the laws of God, in public life, which we have not in private—as if our political life could be separated from our private, and the one be set above the

ocratic creed of 1844, advocated a few days since by the gentleman from Pennsylvania, [Mr. Ross] It is briefly expressed in the sentiment that Congress has no right to do indirectly what it has not the power to do directly. Monstrous doctrine! It reaches back into the dark ages. It is a regular pro-slavery creed of the worst kind—just such a sentiment as is necessary to perpetuate slave insti-tutions. It operates like this: While South Carolina hangs for steeling, and Louisiana for a mere blow, as in the case of the slave Pauline, Congress rights except what have been conferred by the Constitution; whereas the Constitution was formed to protect all the rights given us by God. Seeing, then, that the General Government, under this creed, cannot teach by example, and yet, as we are told, has a great mission abroad, I suppose it can proceed in no other way, except under the war power. It comes to this, then: that the great mission be so to this, then: that the great mission assigned to us in the regeneration of the world, is to be folfilled by practicing injuity at home and aggression abroad! This certainly

He said:

"It is a matter of astonishment to me that the Whigs and Democrats, the members of the true national parties, do not perceive the danger of leaving these Territorial questions open for another canvase before the people. It is as clear as the noonday sun, that unless this agitation shall be quieted in some reasonable time, hey will both be inguled in the abyse of abolitionism. That party is aggressive in its character, new in its organization, and resting its basis apparently, on religion and morality. The party questions which formerly separated the two national parties have nearly spent their force, and, while in this demoralized condition, the new army of Free-Soilism is thunsering on the finak of either division! The deatiny of the old parties is certain, unless they overturn the base of abolitionism by an extinction of the material from which it is formed."

Sir. I think the gentlemen very frenk and

Sir, I think the gentleman very frank and truthful in this admission that they have exhausted their old issues, and are now "demoralized." The only real party issue that I have noticed during the whole session, has been the appointment of committees to look after each other's past profit gacy and extravagance, although they seem to keep up a farcical line of division in name merely. It is evident to every observant mind, that in our

class, I will now say a few words of the other. These gentlemen seem to be honest and bold, and I nese gentiemen seem to be honest and bold, and believe that slavery is a proper institution, not incompatible with Christianity. This sentiment, Mr. Chairman, in my opinion, is a great error. But, while I say this, I must confess that they occupy much more consistent ground than other gentlemen, who have seats on this floor, who admit slavery to be wrong, and charge the sin upon our Southern brethren, while they, at the same time, offer to go into partnership with them under a contract of compromise? Let me ask such gen. a contract of compromise! Let me ask such gen-tlemen how they expect to convince their opponents that they are wrong, when their own prac-tice denies their sincerity? Many Southern gen-tlemen believe the principles they contend for are right. Hence they refuse to compromise. Sir, I admire their firmness. It is to the boldness of this class, and to the firmness of the Free-Soilers, the country is to look for deliverance. They possess individuality and firmness—essential attri-butes for the promotion of knowledge and civilization. This class of Southerners are fair and honorable in discussing the matter in dispute. They meet us fairly, in open debate, and say, if slavery cannot bear the test of reason and argument, let it fall.

other day, in the Senate, while listening to one of the Senators from Louisiana, [Mr. Soule.] who remarked that he did not say it would be a sufficient cause for the dissolution of the Union, if the Wilmot Proviso should be adopted; but, while he believed it wrong, he thought it more honorable to meet the question boldly, rather than to shrink from the contest by entering into a compromise of principle—a compromise full of ambiguity and difficulty itself; and, even should he full in the struggle, he would fall contending for his rights and the honor of his State—that there would be a moral grandeur in the resignation to such a fate, far higher than a cooperation with the measure then before the Senate.

Here, sir, are brought to view some of the highest attributes of the human mind, individuality of character and integrity of purpose. The absence of only one other cardinal principle, in my opin-ion, mars the symmetry and perfection of charac-ter displayed in the position occupied by that distinguished Senator. I look upon him, and confidence in the distinguished Senator as an expounder of the Scriptures, not to say an expounder of the Constitution, and a political guide in the ing hereafter, as Paul, the great Apostle of the Gentiles, after he finished his collegiate studies in the third heavens. Their generous impulses and frankness of character admirably qualify them to become pioneers in the cause of civil liberty throughout the world. This will be, after they shall have made the discovery that God is no respecter of persons, and that our highest enjoyment is found in seeking the elevation of the en-

quotes Scripture, under the old and new dispenhis arguments is this: that even if the Jews did maintain slavery, you might now with as much propriety revive the law that required a person to be stoned to death for picking up sticks on the Sabbath day. As regards his quotation from the New Testament, where Christ enjoined servants to be obedient to their masters, (taking it for granted, for argument's sake, that these ser-vants were slaves,) it does not justify slavery any more than the injunction, "if you are struck on one cheek, turn the other also," justifies the of-

The distinguished Senator from Massachusetts correspondent, the late Commodore Stockton, to submit scriptural arguments for the justification of slavery. He has given us what I consider a technical argument, to show that the Christian tells us that, "at the introduction of Christianity, the Roman world was full of slaves; and I supthat relation between man and man in the teach-Apostles." Now, in reply to this, it is sufficient to say, that this argument proves too much. It would justify highway robbery, arson, and a great many other crimes not specifically forbidden by Christ. He taught by inculcating great cardinal sons; and, as one of the Apostles has very laconi-cally said, the whole duty of man is expressed in one word, viz: "Love thy neighbor as thyself." On

this great principle of benevolence, we are assured,

hang the law and the prophets.

Commodore Stockton's argument, Mr. Chairman, you have doubtless read, as it has been published and furnished in pamphlet form to the members of this House. The substance of it is this. That God has abandoned Africa; and the slave-trader, being more merciful, has stepped in to give relief; since, on the whole, as he says, the slave is better off here, safer, and happier, than he save is better off here, safer, and happier, than he would have been in his own country! Again he says: We must not do evil that good may come; while, in the same treatise, he quotes the conduct of Joseph's brethren, in selling him into Egypt, to one only remaining clause claimed as supporting slavery! All I have to say in relation to slavery. I refer to the one withholding jurisdiction from the Federal Government over the forjustify slavery! All I have to say in relation to this Commodorean sentiment is, that I think it very bad theology. It may not be improper for eign slave trade for the term of twenty years. me, here, to remind the friends of this "peculiar institution," by calling it a "religious institution," you will be likely to defeat the passage of the bill, now reported in the Senate, "providing for the arrest and rendition of fugitive slaves;" as Congress has no power to return members of any re-ligious communion from one State to another, or pass any law supporting religious establishments

is carefully perfected, in order to a pecuniary profit. Sir, let me say, in all kindness, to these gentlemen, that I think this is a false religiona religion that leads down to the chambers of

In discussing the subject of slavery, I have

thought we do not keep sufficiently in view the great object of human existence. The remarks of my honorable friend from South Carolina, [Mr. Orr.] and the remarks made, in the early part of the session, by the honorable gentleman from Tennessee, [Mr Johnson,] warrant this conclusion. They have both dweit, with great emphasis, on the pecuniary advantages of this institution, both to the North and South, in the increased productions of labor, and the mutual advantages of trade—that in a state of slavery olina hangs for stealing, and Louisiana for a mere blow, as in the case of the slave Pauline, Congress must not repudiate nor disparage any such punishment in the District of Columbia, according to the gentleman's logic, because it will have a tentwo States, and thus do indirectly what it has not the power to do directly. In other words, we have the power to do directly. In other words, we have to right to teach by example! So of the slave trade, gambling, or any other vice that may be practiced in any of the States. It must not be suppressed here, because it will have a tendency, indirectly, to abolish the same vice in the States!

What, sir, is man, under our own observation?

He is no less grand and powerful as we see him. This creed presupposes that we have no political rights except what have been conferred by the Constitution; whereas the Constitution was formed to protect all the rights given us by God. Seeing, then, that the General Government, under this creed, cannot teach by example, and yet, as we are told, has a great mission abroad, I suppose it can proceed in no other way, except under the war and will be analysis of earth, he ascends to other systems, proceed in no other way, except under the war and dwells among the planets. Resolved on still higher researches, he travels onward to the fixed.

and oppression, we must reap the whirlwind of we and tribulation. But, sir, I am dwelling too

woe and tribulation. But, sir, I am dwelling too long on these interesting topics. I must pass on. It has been stated on this floor, by an honorable gentleman from Missouri, [Mr. Green,] that our Government was founded in slavery. He says, "my purpose is not to add fuel to the flames that already threaten to envelop us in one flames that siready threaten to envelop us in one general conflagration. I wish to say, sir, for the relief of this gentleman's fears, who thinks the Republic is about to be reduced to ashes, that he must have made a mistake in his reading—that he has taken the history of the Barbary States for that of the United States. The former, I believe, were founded in slavery; and, in the progress of their piratical warfare, they captured our American seamen in the Mediterranean and It is evident to every observant mind, that in our political affairs we are now in a state of transition.

The pressure of the age is forcing us into new positions. We are obliged to take sides on the great questions—THE RIGHTS OF MAN. No compromise measure, even should one MAN. No compromise measure, even should one If it had been, we should have thought the entry of the considered a religious institution. If it had been, we should have thought the entry of the considered as neets of Decatur and Hammadi, which settled classes of our political opponents in this controversy. Having noticed briefly the views of one this matter, a strange sort of "communion." One other incident it would be well for us to remember. In the adjustment of that difficulty, full liberty was restored to the slaves, and, instead of slaveholders being rewarded for their crimes, they were compelled to make compensa-tion for past injuries, and to give a bond for their

good behaviour in the future.
I will now, Mr. Chairman, pass to a consideration of the Constitution as relating to this sub-ject. It was well said, the other day, by the great champion of the Constitution in the other end of the Capitol, that this instrument made no provision for the delivery of fugitive slaves, and the extradition clause provides only for appren-tices and minors bound to service or labor. We are, therefore, obliged to go out of the literal construction of the Constitution into an equity view in order to reach the slave. What, then, i equity in relation to all the parties concerned? In order to answer this question, we must look at the circumstances that surrounded this whole controversy at the time the Convention was acting on this subject. In doing so, we find, as the Senator referred to [Mr. WEBSTER] further stated, that the Southern States were anti-slavery in tendency; and encouraging emancipation as fast as it was deemed practicable. The relation, slaves, was considered in the light of guardian

and minor, and the slaves were encouraged to hope that they would be permitted to enter a condirion of freedom as soon as they could be fitted to enjoy it. It was thought proper that slaves, under such circumstances, should be returned to their legitimate guardians or masters. To suppose any other constitutional view of the relation of servant and master, at that day, would be to convict James Madison, and the other illustrious Free-Soilers of '76, of hypocrisy in refusing to let any word implying property in man go into the Constitution!

But how stands the case now? Most of the slave States have changed their character and purpose on this subject. Instead of seeking to ameliorate the condition of this unfortunate race, they have passed laws that doom them to perpet-ual ignorance as well as bondage, as the following extract will show :

"Any free persons who shall hereafter teach, or attempt to teach, any slave within this State to read or write, (the u e of figures excepted,) or shall give or sell to such slave or slaves, any books or pamphlets, shall be liable to indict ment in any court of record in this State having jurisdiction thereof, and shall be fined, imprisoned, or whipped, at the discretion of the court, not exceeding thirt, nine lash ea."—Vide Revised Statutes of North Carolina, 1830. Similar laws will be found in most of the slave

States. It is a curious fact, worthy of remark in this Christian age, that St. Paul received precisely the same penalty in his day for the very same crime—that is, for assisting to develop that intellect which God had given his children.
The relation this Government bears to this

subject may be still further illustrated by the The gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. Brown] fagitive clause in the Constitution providing for This clause, sir, you are aware, is similar to the one of which I have been speaking. It imposes the same obligation on the Federal Government the same obligation on the Ftueral to deliver fugitives from justice; yet we should understand there is some limitation to the exercise of this power. Suppose some one of the States should establish by law a certain kind of religion, and the control of the states and the control of the states are the control of the states and the control of the states are the stat (as the Constitution only restrains the General Government on this subject.) and make its viola-tion a State's prison offence, would Congress be bound to aid in returning a fugitive from such a law? Certainly not, although all such proceedings might not in the least conflict with the strict

letter of the Constitution. The true construction of law is to be found in this maxim: "The reasonableness of the law [Mr. Webster] has also volunteered with his correspondent, the late Commodore Stockton, to dence. If, then, some of the States have per-verted their prerogatives of government, it is no reason why the Federal Government should assist the States in the exercise of so gross a per-version of power, as that which thus seeks to blot out the intellect of a whole race, to the turning of men into brutes, and thereby robbing itself of its chief element of power-the intelligence of

the masses! of all good government is to protect the weak against the invasion of the strong. It was so understood by the Convention. Hence the pre-amble: "We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish jusprinciples, as such—Do unto others as you would have them do unto you; be no respecter of per-

But a constitutional argument is son claimed in support of slavery, from the clause fixing the basis of representation in Congress, as well as from the clause authorizing Congress to suppress insurrections.

The clause that cuts off two fifths of the population lation in every State, so far as its people are kept in ignorance and slavery, is an argument itself against slavery. The other clause touching insurrections is equally applicable to free as well as slave States. The Constitution, in order to be pro-slavery, should hold the Federal Government

The compromises of that instrument have been greatly misunderstood. It was a compromise as to jurisdiction rather than of principle. We have been laboring under the mistakes of a false educa-tion on this subject. The argument attempted by the gentleman from Georgia, [Mr. Toomes,] as also by the gentleman from Kentuckey, [Mr. MOREHEAD,] like the quotation from Scripture by pass any my supporting religious establishments, in any respect whatever.

But, Mr. Chairman, if this be religion, it must be the religion of the heathen. In fact, there is a striking resemblance. In obedience to the one case, the infant mind is quenched by throwing little children into the Ganges; in the other, the mind is quenched in the turbid sea of slavery. The Southern municipal laws forbid the education of the claves while their president strains of the claves. dered to it by the States, would hold the Govern-ment equally responsible for the existence of high-way robbery, or any other crime which any State might see fit to tolerate while claiming jurisdiction. Just as rightfully could the United States and England be severally held responsible for peculiar internal regulations of each other, which had not Now, had the several original States, parties to the constitutional compact, given up to the Confedera-tion the control of the foreign slave trade, and then had the Confederation deliberately assented to the continuance of the slave trade for twenty years, the case would have been vastly altered and then the responsibility would have been clearly upon the General Government. So it would have been responsible, had the traffic been tolerated after the termination of the twenty years over which jurisdiction had been retained by the States; but we see that, the moment the Federal Government possessed the power of control, it abolished it; and it did so with an emphasis, by declaring it piracy, and punishing it accordingly. I am, therefore, clearly of opinion that the Constitution of the United States is an anti-slavery and

would be doing what we have a right to do, "directly under the war power, delegated to the General Government in the Constitution of the United
States." But does its directness make it right?

Sir, looking at these flinssy arguments, and the
very singular attitude of the old political parties,
who can wonder at this frank admission of the
gentleman from Tennessee, [Mr. Ewino] a few
days since, in a speech delivered on this floor?
He said:

"It is a matter of astonishment to me that the Whig and
Democrats, the members of the true national parties, do not
receive the danger of leaving these Territorial questloss
open for another can was before the people. It is a older as
the noonday sun, that unless this agitation shall be quicted in
a more reasonable time, they will both be linguited in the
abjust of abolitionism. That jarty is as gressive in its change of leaving these Territorial questloss
acter, new in its organization, and residue to the solution of the Constitution; yet he is still a man—he is still our brother.

Mr. Chairman, can it be possible that the Constit would pass the bill of admission at once,
and take a recess that we might have a day of jusubtate a recess that we might have a day of jusubtate a recess that we might have a day of jusubtate a recess that we might have a day of jusubtate a recess that we might have a day of jusubtate a recess that we might have a day of jusubtate a recess that we might have a day of jusubtate a recess that we might have a day of jusubtate a recess that we might have a day of jusubtate a recess that we might have a day of jusubtate a recess that we might have a day of jusubtate a recess that we might have a day of jusubtate a recess that we might have a day of jusubtate a recess that we might have a day of jusubtate a recess that we might have a day of jusubtate a recess that we might have a day of jusubtate a recess that we might have a day of jusubtate a recess that we might have a day of jusubtate a recess that we migh of steamers running on the Pacific, connecting the commerce of Australia, Pekin, and Nankin, with that of our own rich valley of the Sacramento. We have already twelve or fifteen steamers run-ning between Panama and San Francisco. We should bear in mind, too, that the Pacific is admi-rably adapted to this kind of navigation. Sir, itseems to me that none of us can contemplate this sublime picture of enterprise rearing a great State west of the Rocky Mountains, without feelings of pride that its founders were Americans. Neither can we be unmindful of the highly important social, political, and commercial advantages growing out of this state of things, all tending to promote the best interests of mankind. Shall we, then, re-fuse to fraternize with this noble State, possessing. as she does, all the attributes of a great and glo-rious Republic?—a State that has sprung into being with a magic genius and beauty far surpass-ing Venus herself, as she sprung from the foam of the sea. Then let un welvome her to our halls of legislation! Let us welcome her to an equal par-ticination in our companse and all the blessings. ticipation in our commerce, and all the blessings of our Federal Union! Let us receive her as she is, that she may become one of the brightest gems in the casket of the Confederacy.

The time is not far distant, when there will be long train of States extending from Missouri to a long train of States extending from Missouri to California, uniting together, by a great railway, the Mississippi with the gold-filtering rivers that roll into the Bay of San Francisco. Sir, in view of these grand results, it would seem that our patriotism and our national pride would stimulate us to receive to our embrace this generous and noble State. Let, then, the bill be forthwith and joyfully passed!

Mr. Chairman, the future destiny of New Mexico and Utah shall be alike glorious with California.

ico and Utah shall be alike glorious with Califor-nia, if they share the parental care and kindness of this Government. The one may be made in-strumental in the redemption of our red brethren of the Northwest, while the other shall fix on Mexico, and all South America, the imprint of our institutions. What a grand scene to contemplate! This whole continent swarming with republics, united in one great Confederation of We all know that New Mexico is now in a

perilious condition—that she is exposed to the ruthless hand of barbarism on one side, and an by fastening upon her a cancerous ulcer that shall gnaw to her very vitals. Sir, we have only to advert to the history of the wronge inflicted on New Mexico to have our sympathy and mext pro-New Mexico, to have our sympathy and most pro-found sense of justice deeply excited in her favor. What pledges did we make to her at the com-mencement of the Mexican war? We told her that our object was to secure to her, more fully, the blessings of liberty, and a higher civilization. On her first application to the American Senate, how shamefully was she repulsed? She had received our promises in good faith, and had petitioned, in the most respectful manner, for the organization of a Territorial Government, instead of the one we had wrested from her. In this pe-tition she prayed that all her citizens might be protected against slavery. How was she received by some of our oldest Senators? Sir, she was re-pulsed and insulted with offensive language, and, to this hour, she has been unable even to secure a favorable hearing of the President. She comes, now, to the House of Representatives, (the popular branch of our National Legislature,) and demands that our pledges be redeemed. If we continue to refuse, under all these circumstances, to do justice to New Mexico and Utah, let us cease to call ourselves Republicans. Sir, the idea is mon-strous—that our faith to New Mexico and Utah shall be violated.

I know that some of our great statesmen say that the Wilmot Proviso, in connection with these territories, is an idle abstraction. I look upon the Proviso as neither more nor less than one of the cardinal principles of the Declaration of Independ-ence; hence it is proper to be urged in the organ-ization of civil Government everywhere. The de-

we are as much opposed to Mexican and American slavery as to African slavery. Hence we go for protection to all. As regards our sovereignty over these territories, it seems to me that there can be no doubt. One of two things is certhere can be no doubt. One of two things is cer-tain: either Congress or the territories possess the sovereignty. If the latter, they have a right to keep off our jurisdiction altogether. They can join any other power, if they choose. I have never been able to see the force of the argument that seeks to make a distinction between a prop-erty and a political right, where we purchased both from Mexico. We certainly could not maintain a property right in the absence of a political one. Neither can I see, as some have argued, that the idea of sovereignty over the terargued, that the idea of sovereignty over the ter-ritories existing in Congress conflicts with the theory of self-government. I consider the rela-tion existing between the General Government child. There is a proper time when the territory shall pass the line of minority, just as in the case shall pass the line of minority, just as in the case of the child, and be entitled to self-government. If you carry the principles of self-government as far as some, a handful of people, unprincipled in character, might step in and carry on a piratical sovereignty incompatible with the true interests of the country. In every view of this subject, then, it seems to me that imperative duty requires that we should immediately organize such Governments in these territories as will protect all the ments in these territories as will protect all the all, without regard to race or color. My sense of justice and of right-allows none of those narrow distinctions contended for by so mony around me.

I pass now, Mr. Chairman, to another kindred topic. I allude to the question of the abolition of slavery in this District. Shall this Congress shrink from its duty, because a lash is held over it? Has it no self-respect? Has it none of the attributes of a free and enlightened Government to reflect, by example, upon other nations? Sir, slavery should not be allowed to breathe here another hour. It should be abolished, at whatever cost. Having once ridden the District of this stigma, we ought to educate all, protect the people with a homestead exemption law, enfranchise its citizens, nomestead exemption is w, enfranchise its citizens, establish a District Legislature, and give the people a Delegate in Congress, instead of having the legislative wants of the District remain "every-body's business," as at present. They would be discharged in a more intelligent and efficient manner by those who know their own wants. If good government should be maintained anywhere, it, well means could be a like to b y all means, ought to be here. The government of this District should be a perfect model, and a fitting illustration of the very principle of self-government. Here the diplomatic agents of for-eign Governments get their views of the practical workings of our republican institutions. "This would be well enough," says one, "but

I have my fears that such a measure would be un-constitutional." Mr. Chairman, this word "unconstitutional." Mr. Chairman, this word "unconstitutional." has become about as much of a scarecrow as the words "fanaticism" and "dissolution." I was amused, the other day, with the debate on the Census bill. It was thought, by some gentlemen, to be "unconstitutional" for the marshal, in taking the census, to gather up information as to the business resources and the pecuniary interests of the country. Why, sir, the United States marshal in this District may be authorized to take a man's wife and children and thorized to take a man's wife and children, and even the man himself, (if he cannot prove that some slaveholder has said he might go free,) and put them in prison, and sell them, for jail fees, into slavery for life! We have other laws sanc-

put them in prison, and sell them, for jail fees, into slavery for life! We have other laws sanctioned here by Congress, that operate in this wise. If you take a man's cloak without leave, you are imprisoned for theit; but if the cloak has a man in it, and you take the man and the cloak has a man in it, and you take the man and the cloak hoth, it is not considered any crime! The kidnapping of the man sanctifies the taking of the cloak!

But our Presidents, too, are much inclined to indulge in these nice constitutional scruples. Mr. Polk had his in regard to the General Government improving our harbors, but be had no doubt about the propriety of exploring the Dead Sea! So of General Taylor. In his annual message he recommends Congress to use its best endeavors to elevate the colored people in the Sandwich Islands. I suppose he must have had his constitutional scruples in regard to conferring the same benefits on his own countrymen who are in a similar condition at home—yea, in this very District—as his message was silent on the subject. What atraining at gnats and swallowing of camela! The gentlemsn from Georgia, [Mr. Streursas,] as few dars since, when opposing the Census bill, because It sought other information than the enumeration of the people, remarked, in a very eloquent speech, that this Government had a great mission to fulfill. Well, sir. I believe so, too; but it is not to tution of the United States is an anti-slavery and not a pro-slavery instrument.

What, then, Mr. Chairman, ought we to do?

Why, sir, report the bill of my collergue, [Mr. Dorry,] providing for the admission of California, without delay, and then put it upon its immediate passage. We ought at once to establish territori-as Governments in New Mexico and Utah, and utah, and sawallowing of camels! The gentlems from Georgis, [Mr. Struussa,] a few days is support of slavery. Sir, when I reflect upon the hardships and sufferings of the early pioneers of California—on the intelligence and enterprise of her people—on the liberal and enlightened constitution she has formed, with its prohibition of slavery, and the adoption of the Homestead Exempts of the solution, nor through the creed introduced by those in her the great American principle of the seale and oppression, take our proper position in the family opposite the seale and liberty, but they have didented this principle into a more expansive view widened this principle into a more expansive view in dended this principle into a more expansive view in didented this principle into a more expansive view in dended this principle into a more expansive view in dended this principle into a more expansive view in dident they have didented this principle into a more expansive view in dended this principle into a more expansive view in dident they have didented this principle into a more expansive view in dident they have didented this principle into a more expansive view in dended this principle into a more expansive view in dident the sum to life and liberty, but they have didented this principle into a more expansive view in dident the implication and the sum to life and liberty, but they have defect as the astronomical these of men—bringing, at the same time in the structure of the preservation and the sum. Should this Congress finally fall into a gross an absurdity, there would arise a host of Free-Soil-rea.

The decrease was silent to a more expansive view that the un

have been speaking are exploded, the great Father of Compromises comes forward with his peculiar system of moral ethics. After admitting, in his New Orleans letter, that slavery is a piratical war against the rights of man, he has at empted to show that this Government should be prostituted for its continuance in the District of Columbia. In the letter referred to, he said:

In the letter referred to, he said:

"An argument, in support of reducing the African race to siavery, is sometimes derived from their alleged intellectual inferiority to the white saces; but, if this argument be founded in fact, do it may be, but which is hall not now examine,) it would prove entirely too much. It would prove that any white nation, which had made greater advances in civilization, knowledge, and windom, than another white nation, would have a right to reduce the latter to a state of bondage. Nay, further: if the principle of subjuga lon founded upon intellectual superiority be true, and be applicable to races and to nations, what is to prevent its being applied to individuals? And then the wiseat man in the world would bave a right to make slaves of all the rest of mankind.

"If, indeed, we passess this intellectual superiority, neo-boardly gradely and unassaut to us as one as bestowed it, we ought to fulfill will the obligations and duties which it imposes; and these would require us not to subjugate or deal unjustly by our fellow men who are less blest than we are, but to instruct, to improve, and to enlighten them? Sublime sentiments, embracing the principles of truth and of justice, of hope and immortality! These are sentiments for which the Apostles and the long line of martyrs suffered and died—sen-timents, for the emodiment of which, the fathers of the Revolution pledged their lives, their property, and sacred honor, in the support of a seven years' war, which threw off the yoke of despotism. Yet, strange as it may seem, the author proposes now strange as it may seem, the author proposes now to sacrifice them all on the alter of slavery! Yes, to sacrifice them all on the alter of slavery! Yes, sir, these sentiments we are now called upon, in this great struggle, "to compromise," to throw away as an idle abstraction—sentiments embracing, as they do, nothing less than a sense of obligation to God and to our brother. Hence the argument of the honorable Senator, who said, when urging the North to make these sacrifices, "I might ask of you larger and more expansive concessions than from the slave States? And why? You are numerically more powerful than the slave States. You are; in point of numbers, greater; and greatness and magnanimity should ever be allied to-

Mr. Chairman, in order to see more clearly the nature of this greatures and magoanimity, let us call to mind the case of William Box Brown, who call to mind the case of William Box Brown, who had so great a loge for freedom as to consent to be put into a cost inic. cet long, two and a nail rest wide, and two feet deep, and in this confined and distressing condition to be conveyed as a package of goods from Richmond to Philadelphia—a part of the time with his head downwards. Here, sir, and social relations, as the Senate's Austrian resolutions proposed—relations that should ever be was one of our own countrymen, free from any charge of crime, and yet he was obliged to pass through the very metropolis of the Republic, which boasts of its liberty and equality, as a bale of merchandise! Shame, shame on the Republic Take another illustration of this kind of greatness and magnanimity—I mean our violation of the flag of truce in the capture of the bold and chivalrous Osceola, once already referred to, who was defending his wife, his children, and his country-men, from outrage and insult in the slavery-supporting Florida war. Sir, if this be the "great-ness and magnanimity" asked for, I pray that our country may be less distinguished for such great-

ness and magnanimity hereafter.
But, sir, this Compromise measure, that seeks to identify the Federal Government with slavery by its continuance in the District of Columbia, reverses the generally-acknowledged system of ju-risarudence throughout the civilized world. While the strict letter of the Constitution, which is just and good, protects the rights of every person wherever the General Government has full juris-diction, it is urged that we should go into a court of equity to do a wrong, when we have the power to do right. We are told, in effect, that we are under a moral obligation to do wrong. Strange philosophy, which imposes upon us a greater obligation to do wrong than to do right! Sir, it is the most absurd solecism imaginable! It is unworthy of the mind that conceived, and of the lips that uttered it.

Now, a word further in relation to the declara-tion in Mr. Clay's New Orleans letter, that the colored people have as good a right to enslave us as we to enslave them. Suppose some of the members of this House, who have sons and daugh-ters, should have them forcibly taken and sold into slavery, would they, I ask again, be willing to "compromise" with a people that would com-mit such an outrage on their families, by consent-ing that a part should remain in slavery on coning that a part should remain in slavery, on condition that the others should be restored? No, sir, are fair deductions from the premises laid down in the letter to which I have referred—this is the gross inconsistency of this recent appeal to our "magnanimity!" No, Mr. Chairman, we must not good may come. We should rather imitate the noble Kossuth, who, when required by the Sultan to "compromise" his sentiments, replied, "My answer does not admit of hesitation. Between death and shame, the choice can wither be dubious nor difficult!" Sir, this is the only safe rule by which to square our conduct at all times and under all cir-

But, hear what our own immortal Jefferson said on this point: said on this point:
"With what execution should the statesman be branded, who, permitting one half of the ci isens thus to trumple on the rights of the other, transforms those into despots, and these into enemies—destroys the morals of the one part and the love of country of the other."

Why, sir, in certain localities, we have proclaimed slavery to be piracy. Is it any less sinful here? Let me read an extract from a speech de-livered by a slaveholder, in the recent Convention of Kentucky-I mean the Hon. Mr. Turner:

of Kentucky—I mean the Hon. Mr. Turner:

The whole civilized world has turned its back upon the
African slave trade; even Portogal is now coming into civillization and Christianity upon this subject, if I may be
allowed the expression; she is placing herse is by the side
of England, and of France, and of all the enlightened nations of the earth. And what is there in the African slave
trade that is worse than to go into another State, and to
bring slaves from thence, learing mothers from their chiral
dren, isparating husbands from their weines, without any
offence charged against them; driving them along in chains,
as if they were beast of prey! Is it not a seene that no
man, unless he is determined to engage in this traffic, can
look upon without feelings deep and powerful!"

Sir, so long as we render such national facilities Sir, so long as we render such national facilities

for upholding this traffic, by keeping, within sight of this very Capitol, a jail, and authorizing the United States marshal to keep slaves for slave traders, at the rate of thirty-four cents a day, and even keep our own citizens confined in this same prison for acts of humanity towards those thus treated, and that in violation of the clause of the Constitution which expressly declares that no man shall be deprived of this liberty, unless he shall be guilty of crime, so long may we expect to be a by-word and a hissing throughout the world. We sympathize with the Roman and Hungarian patrisympathize with the Roman and Hungarian patriots, while condemning our own citizens for the same noble deeds! Sir, who are the Koesutha, and who the Austrians, in the contest to which I have referred? Sayers and Drayton are now incorcerated for receiving on hoard the Pearl those who had a right, guarantied them by the Constitution, to go and come at their pleasure. Sir, I have visited these our afflicted countrymen in prison, and given them strong assurances that the people sympathize with them in their affliction—that hundreds of petitions are constantly being sent to Congress for their relief. I told them that the time was near at hand when the Government would be wrested from hand when the Government would be wrested from those who now violate the Constitution of their country, and be placed under the control of such as would wield it for the protection of all its citizens to the full extent of our Federal jurisdiction. This, sir, must come before the true mission of this Union is fulfilled, and before we shall be recognised as a consistent republic by all enlightened nations. But, Mr. Chairman, among the various classes of measures, directly and indirectly involved in

children, without reference to condition, with the these States, some of them striking off twelve children, without reference to condition, with the tenderest emotion. Sir, the Gerrit Smiths, the Evanses, the Van Amringes, and their generous associates, have already more than realized the most ardent hopes of their friends, in enlightening and correcting public sentiment on this subject. They should not only be appreciated as friends of the landless poor in our own country, but as bene-factors of old mankind. A great number of the States have, as I have already remarked, embraced these humane principles, and passed laws which secure to their citizens, in all vicissitudes, a home

secure to their citizens, in all vicesitudes, a nome to shelter them, and to protect them from the grasp of the merciless creditor.

But, sir, these are but drops before a more plen-tiful shower, when compared with the vast and indescribable blessings that are yet to flow from a more extended application of these principles. We have but to look at these facts to get some idea of the rich legacy God has in store for his landless poor, both of this and the other side of the Atlanpoor, seem of the same of the same of the same of the vice, viz: the fifteen hundred millions of acres of public lands lying masts between this and the Pacific ocean. I find no little consolation in the hope that these expansive acres will yet present of the millions of Lacklanders whose starving groans come to us upon every bretze, as it wafts its way across the Atlantic. To all such I would say, Come, and welcome!

Mr. Chairman, I fear this sentiment will not meet a response from some gentlemen who occupy sents on this floor—few in number, thank Heaven, they are—who would base narrow distinctions on the mere accident of birthplace. But I know no the mere accident of birthplace. But I know no such feeling. I hail every man of every clime as my brother, and as equally entitled to share God's common country, spread art in a common soil. But, sir, notwithstanding these measures of reform are fast winning the hearts of the people, we are told, by some of our Southern friends, that they are Utopian and chimerical, tending to anarchy and irreligion, closely allied in principle with that odious proviso, which we are told, if applied to the Territories, will necessarily oblige the slave States to withdraw from the Union, and, for the protection of their slave property, to establish a protection of their slave property, to establish a Southern Confederacy. Sir, let me, in passing, southern Confederacy. Sir, iet me, in passing, ask our friends, who entertain these views, what advantage would result from such a step, even were it mutually agreed upon? You are all free traders, and therefore you would certainly not object, in such an event, to a reciprocity of trade with the States left behind, and also to postal arrangements. We would be agreed in preventing the establishment of any monarchical governments on this continent. Well, then, what are you to gain? Would not the new relation be just about the same that exists now? You are already indethe same that exists now? You are already independent States, excepting jurisdiction over specified subjects, which I have just named, including in addition, a few incidental powers. The only effect of this course, in my opinion, would be to hasten forced, instead of voluntary emancipation, in the slave States themselves. I am, for this and other important reacher, apposed to a separation of these States.

Mr. Chairen it is the course of nations.

olutions proposed—relations that should ever be ranked among the most efficient means for the civilization of the world. We ought not to be destructive, but restorative in our movements. Our object should be to improve each other. If the free States are deluded, and under the darkness of superstition, the South should seek to enlighten them. So of the slave States. If they err, the North should seek to do them a like favor. Why not, then, remain together, and let "agita-tion" go on? Let me, then, exhort our more timid brethren throughout the Union not to be alarmed, even should the Southern Convention seek to dissolve the Union. I had much rather seek to dissolve the Union. I had much rather see such a step as that taken than stagnation! A head wind is ever better than a calm. The physician, whose medicines produce no effect, is a quack. Besides, should such a rash measure as dissolution be resolved upon, the effect would be the call of another convention—one more prudent and wise, and which would suggest more effective means for the protection of the slave States. And here I would take occasion, Mr. Chairman, to say to those who are endeavoring to throw odium and ridicule upon the Neshville Convention. You are ridicule upon the Nashville Convention, You are doing great injustice. Sir, while I see the tenden-cy of the age in the diffusion of anti-slavery prindoing great injustice. Sir, while I see the tendency of the age in the diffusion of anti-slavery principles everywhere, my great surprise is, that the slave States are not more alarmed! Look at the rapid spread of these principles since the Mexican war. And here let me remind our Southern friends of the foresting Calburg the states are not more alarmed? Look at the rapid spread of these principles since the Mexican war. And here let me remind our Southern friends of the foresting and Democracy between Democracy and Democracy between Democracy and Democracy between Democracy and Democ be to subject our institutions to political death."
Mr. Calhoun, in my opinion, never expressed
more truth in so few words. The present controthis as distinctly with his prophetic eye, when he used the following familiar language

"Can the liberties of a nation be thought secure when we have removed their only firm basis!— a conviction on the minds of the people that these liberties are the gift of God that they are not to be violated but with his wrath! Indeed, I tremb'e for my country when I reflect that God is just; that his justice o muot sleep forever; that the Almighty has no attribute that can take sides with us in such a contest." Sir, let me say, in all kindness to our Southern friends, if the view taken by Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Calhoun be correct, and they refuse to adopt wise measures to arrest the growing evils of slavery, there is a point of time, which they or their children must reach, that will be truly appalling! Their anxiety then will not be concerning their exteen hundred millions of dollars of property in God's image, but it will be for their mines and

God's image, but it will be for their mices and children. Then will be realized the graphic picture of the distinguished Senator from Kentucky, [Mr. CLAY,] which is not too highly drawn

to be certain results, unless he shall succeed in arresting the tendency of the spirit of the age to universal liberty. That his arm will prove impotent for this, I feel sure. I hope, therefore, to use the figure of the Kentucky Sepator, that our friends who are so deeply interested in this mat-ter, will put "sentiment," a glorious sentiment, in both sides of the scale—such sentiment as is expressed in the New Orleans letter, to which

both sides of the scale—such sentiment as is expressed in the New Orleans letter, to which I have adverted.

Mr. Chairman, I claim no jurisdiction for the General Government over this subject in the States. I have only spoken of your internal affairs, because the debate invited me there. I do not think any of the Northern States would alter the Constitution to-day, if they had the power. To give the Federal Government jurisdiction over the municipal regulations of the States, would be to throw upon it the responsibility, without conferring the power. The prerogatives of a confederation like ours, would be ineffectual in internal regulations over a country so large in extent. The vast influence which this Government should exert, both at home and abroad, is only to be effected by a strict administration of justice to the full extent of its delgated powers, the pro-slavery creed of the gentleman from Pennsylvania, [Mr. Ross.] to the contrary notwithstanding. In my opinion, the partition line of jurisdiction between the Federal and State Governments was most judiciously drawn.

But, sir, I pass to a subject to which I have already incidentally alluded—I mean the too well concerted plan, put in operation by an extensive

concerted plan, put in operation by an extensive correspondence throughout the States, to concoct some "compromise" measure—some magic 1 "ad-justment"—that shall finally extinguish the last hope of personal liberty to the poor slave, while, if carried out in principle, it would crush the spirit of civil liberty throughout the world.

Sir, we have many men in public and private life, great in talents, great in experience, great in the councils of the nation, enjoying a large share of public confidence, who believe, or assume to believe, that the public mind has broken away from the proper restraints of order and propriety, led astray by the wild vagaries of a spirit delusive in its character and pernicious in its consequences; and that it is their high mission to hush to repose the spirit of agitation that now pervades the whole country. With all due respect to the opinions of these, our distinguished countrymen, allow me to say, that I believe they are themselves the deluded ones—that they are destined soon to see their hopes pass away like the early cloud and the morning dew. Sir, if they succeed in passing a law that public opinion shall arrested in its triumphal career, it will have just about as much effect as the astronomical decree of the ancients. hope of personal liberty to the poor slave, while,

these States, some of them striking off twelve thousand sheets per hour, furnishing new suggestions and materials of thought for the million. Railroads, steamboats, and lightning telegraphs, are running in every direction, regenerating and assimilating the varied character of our people. The time is not far distant when these subtle agencies will cover the whole globe with a complete network of sympathy, so that a great truth uttered in America will be instantaneously heard in Europe, Asia, and Africa. Sir, we are on the eve of a mighty moral revolution. To think of resisting the march of mind and the progess of freedom, is as idle as it would be to undertake to drive back the thundering cataract of Niagara, to reverse the laws of gravitation, or dertake to drive back the thundering cataract of Niagara, to reverse the laws of gravitation, or to smother the fires of Mount Vesuvius with a gauze veil. No, sir, no! The sublime truths proclaimed by a Garrison in the streets of Boston, with a halter around his neck; by a Birney, when his press was thrown into the Ohio; by a Lovejoy, when he fell a martyr to the freedom of the press, have comminged in a Current of Reform which is rolling on as resistless as that of the great Father of Waters. of the great Father of Waters.

But, sir, the owner of that submerged press had an associate who shared with him the trials had an associate who shared with him the trials of his darkest hour. Where is he now? Driven from the field by the opposition to which his early sufferings for Truth's sake exposed him? No, sir, no! Behold him here in your very midst—in this, the very citadel of your power—

planting the batteries of truth anew, and more firmly and skillfully than before.

Behold him in the unpretending man, yet heroic editor of the National Era, (Dr. Bailey,) with its list swollen, in three and a haif years, to more than accept thousand, and yet tending upwards still. Behold him, as he stands unscathed by a mob, who knew not what they were doing, in all the moral dignity and force of his character, dis-pensing light and truth in all directions—south ward as well as northward—not the borrowed light of some lunar planet, but light original, clear, and penetrating! Behold him at this very hour, on the point of a prouder achievement still—on the eve of driving Error from her darkened recesses into open day, and into open con flict with Truth, in the arens of public discussion with an able rival press! *- an advent which, in all frankness, let me say, I shall hail with unsf-fected joy. How truthfully may be applied the oft-quoted sentiment of Bryant, (bimself one of the battlers in the noble sphere of Free-Soil Truth,) which teaches that Truth crushed to earth shall rise again, while Error writhes in endless pain and hopeless prostration. But, Mr. Chairman, while we mention the names of these mental heroes and moral patriots,

we cannot forget the great pioneer champion of the Right of Petition—John Quincy Adams. Sir, I believe his Presidential Administration stands fair; but you may add to it the fame of Napoleon, and the diadem of the Casars, and, when compared with his Congressional career, it dwindles into insignificance. The former was an administration of existing public sentiment—the latter an

aggressive movement, ending in a clorious tricy and over desp. ...m., in behalf of the people. The needs no monument of brass, nor of stone, to perpetuate his memory. His name is written among the stars of the Confederacy, and indelibly recorded upon the history of our country; and it will be written because on the heart of the confederacy. written hereafter on the hearts of an improved and appreciating posterity. His mantle has not fallen upon any one of your mere trading politicians; but to the hands of the people it has been return-

but to the hands of the people it has been returned—they whose right it is to rule, and who will
yet find a successor worthy to wear it.

I have thus, Mr. Chairman, endeavored to follow, to some extent, this debate, which has taken
so wide a range, on the interesting question before
the committee—the admission of California, as a
sovereign State, into the Union. In doing so, it
has been my object to express the honest convichas been my object to express the honest convictions of my own mind, with a proper respect to the opinions of others. I am aware that some may think that so humble an individual as myself has been too presuming in thus dissenting from, and in some instances attempting to refute, opinions expressed by leading men, some of whom have long exerted an extensive influence over the affairs of State. But I trust they will bear with me, when they call to mind that what I have said has been spoken in self-defence—in vindication of sentiments with which I am proud to be associa ted, and which have been attacked and denounced as if really at war with the true interests of the

of what the far-seeing Calhoun thought of this war, and Democracy - between Despotism and Fre great contest, is to be tested on the questions of receiving California into the Union, and organiz ing such Governments in the Territories of New Mexico and Utah as will protect all the citizen thereof. The Northwest expects every man that she claims on this floor, in the decision of this momentous question, to do his duty. With nothing less will she be content.

Sir, if any one of us had doubts in regard to his

Sir, if any one of us had doubts in regard to his duty on this subject, it would seem that they might be easily removed by calling to mind the associations of home, where we share so largely in the bounties of Haven. Let me remind gentlemen, who represent the people living under the Jeffersonian Ordinance of 1787, of the great prairies and rivers of the Northwest — the former iries and rivers of the Northwest—the former spread out in such beauty of adornment and profusion of fruitage—the latter dotted with hundreds of commerce-bearing steamers—and ask them if they can throw their influence on the side of thriftless slavery! Forbid it, Heaven! We, above all men, know the value of freedom. Let us see to it, that our votes do not aid to deprive others of its inestimable blessings. Let us remember what "free labor" has done for us, and see that we degrade it not by contact with slavery elsewhere. Shall we as stewards of the People. elsewhere. Shall we, as stewards of the People "compromise" away the rights of our Pacific brethren, or refuse to pass laws to protect them when it is the avowed purpose of others to tram ple them under foot—and that, too, in territorics the known rights of whose conquered citiz n were especially trusted to our plighted care God forbid! Before I would do so vile an act, l would suffer all the tortures that the most depr red mind could invent.

Important consequences, my associates, hang on the decision of the hour—not only to the cause of personal freedom in our own beloved country, but the cause of civil liberty on the other side of the Atlantic. If we meet the crisis manfully and the Atlantic. If we meet the crisis manfully and unitedly, we shall triumph speedily, and secure the grateful thanks of our constituents and of our country. But, if we falter now, we shall richly deserve the execrations of mankind.

Mr. Chairman, let me say, in conclusion, that Providence seems to have opened to us a rare field for the sequisition of true national greatness. If

for the sequisition of true national greatness. If we properly appreciate and enter at once on the fulfilment of the manifest destiny of this Republic, we shall become the emancipators of not only our own enslaved countrymen, but the Liberators of the World. We shall present an asylum indeed for the oppressed of all nations, instead of a prison-house for the innocent and unoffending.

Let us, then, he just and generous to California, to Utah, to New Mexico—to all who need our aid. A prompt and enlightened policy on our part would promote the disenthralment and elevation of Mexico, Central and South America, and even the Islands of the Sea, until we should

and even the Islands of the Sea, until we should finally meet and fraternally embrace our British brethren on the Eastern Continent, and thus assist to encircle the whole globe with the Anglo-Saxon race, speaking one language for the expression of common wants and wishes, and for the proclamation of a common and a glorious aim.

WHOLESALE and Retail Boot and Shoe Manufacts ers, sign of the BIG RED BOOT, No. 39 Low Market, south side, two doors west of Sycamore street, C cinnati-Dealers in Boots, Shoes, Palm Leaf Hats, &c.